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to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'u."

to the ch'u-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un
dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty
(1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

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1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
Vol. I, sections on the
T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the ~~pe~~ Miao,
have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum
dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the
Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was
popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was
transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known.

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C
535 Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they
wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains
this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes
the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to
describe the singing and dancing. However good the descrip-
tion, it is only a simulation. The Li Shian annotation on the
phrase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums,"
sets in order all the phrases. On reading ~~it~~ one gets a better
understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The
annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in
historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that
the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance.
The ancient Hsin ch'eng An-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an
drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven
P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

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/203 cont. /

- M sandals go up'; again, 'the p'an drums glitter with heavy silk.'
- 174 Wang Ts'an in his Ch'i Shih says: 'The seven p'an take place
 *535 in a large yard, the group fall in line, throwing their white
 sleeves high up, suddenly close their feet and stand straight,
 c 175 looking askance at the drum, raising their voices to follow the
 535 rhythm, slowly tiptoeing to follow the beat, then bending
 their bodies in rapid sequence.' K'a Lan in his Hsi-ch'ang-
kung Fu says: 'They stamp the feet to stop following, and con-
 tinue when they seem about to stop. The drums roar but the
 steps are not confused, the feet following one after the other
 but not together. They lean toward the drum, zigzagging
 like a snake. As for the seven p'an dance, they go lightly like
 feathers.' The descriptions are similar." The p'an drum
 dance became extinct during the Tang dynasty. Although
 Li Shan had collected data about the various dances and studied
 them carefully, he had only a general idea of them. Fortunately,
 [532] today we have the stone carvings from the Han dynasty.
 Such books as the Shan Tso Chin Shih chih (2) and the Nan-yang

2. By Pi Yüan and Yüan
 Yüan of the Ching dynasty.

Han Hua-hsiang Hui-ts'un (3) /illus. 78 and 79, on pp. 204,

3. By Sun Wen-ch'ing,
 published by the Literary
 Society of Nanking Uni-
 versity, 1938, containing
 four illustrations of the
 drum dance, Nos. 137, 138,
 139, and 142.

205/ /206/ contain pictures of the drum dance of the Han
 dynasty. Looking at the illustrations and reading the poems
 bring the drum dance of the Han dynasty vividly to mind.
 Illustrations 78 and 79 show stone carvings of the drum dance

[text continues on p316]

2:ling & Ruey--314

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Illus. 78. Stone carving of the drum dance
at Nan-yang. A.

2: Ling & Ruey--315

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Ilus. 79. Stone carving of the drum dance at
Nan-yang, B.

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*535 at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty.

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[535] Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

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*535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping (illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

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[531] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

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[562] There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

CHAPTER II

IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND

Pictures of the People

THE Miao do not live alone. They are close neighbours of Chinese and of another tribe, the Nosu. 174

The Nosu (pronounced No-soo) are not illiterate as the Miao. They have a written language represented by some three thousand different words and are a fine, tall race, with a comparatively fair complexion. Probably of Aryan origin, they are distinct from the Chinese in language, customs and character. There is a stretch of hill country in the South of Szechuan where they still live under their own chiefs and are independent of Chinese rule. As to their religion, the Nosu worship nature, and have a great fear of evil spirits.

The Nosu of this story are under Chinese domination and are rapidly imbibing Chinese culture and civilisation.

For several generations the Flowery Miao, harried and dispossessed of their land, have been the shuttle-cock of both the Chinese and Nosu, who had come to regard them as "the offscouring of

- 174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being dis-
579 tilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

536 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS 25

"Book of History." The Heh Miao, we have 173 every reason to think, were the last to move into Kweichow. Some of them are to be found in Hunan, which lies between Kiangsi and Kweichow, and we believe traces of their language are to be found in some of the local dialects of Kiangsi. The Hua Miao say they have always lived where, or very near to where, they are now. However, when the Keh-lao are mentioned, they readily admit that the Keh-lao were in the district before them. Probably the Hua Miao were the first of the Miao tribes to move into those regions, it may be two thousand or more years ago.

The Ya-ch'io Miao say their old home was in Tongking, and that they came to Kweichow by way of Szechwan and Yunnan. This is absurd, and we only put it on record because they insisted that it was so. They also say that when they die their souls return to their ancestors in Tongking. There can be no doubt these 174 various tribes originally came from farther east, though at vastly different periods, some of them two thousand years ago, and the Heh Miao last of all within the last five hundred years. It may be, however, and is indeed very probable, that some of them moved about in different directions before they settled down

• 174 where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."¹

622 Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

¹ Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE AND ITS PEOPLES

Ancient history—Chinese and Miao—The Miao move westward
—Kweichow—Constituted a province—General character-
istics of the province—Original Chinese—New Chinese—
The non-Chinese—The Keh-lao.

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WHEN the people now known as Chinese reached the regions which at present form the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in north China, they found much land already occupied by tribes not unlike themselves. These tribes were doubtless the descendants of people who had, at an earlier date, migrated from the west. Those to the south were called *Nan Man* or Southern Barbarians. They were also called *Miao*. The character *Miao*, as written in the "Book of History," means tender blades of grass or sprouts, and it is hard to decide whether the people were so named in consequence of the district they occupied, or whether the district took its name from the people. The word is

- 175 evidently Chinese, and seems to be a natural term for all newcomers to apply to the aborigines, whom they regard as sons of the soil.

In the "Canon of Shuen" it is recorded that Shuen drove the San Miao into San Wei. Whether San Miao was the name of one tribe or meant three tribes¹ is not clear. San Wei was a district extending from what is now Kiukiang, in the province of Kiangsi, to Yochow, at the mouth of the Tungting Lake in the province of Hunan. This was about 4000 years ago. Later on, as the Miao continued rebellious, Yü was sent, at the command of Shuen, to correct them. For reasons which do not appear, Yü sent back his army and determined to try the effect of moral suasion on these unmanageable people, and in seventy days the Prince of the Miao came to make his submission!

From that time forth the struggle has proceeded between the ever-encroaching Chinese and the Miao, in which struggle the more civilised and better organised Chinese have always, in the end, prevailed. About 800 B.C. Shuen Wang, one of the kings of the Chow dynasty, sent an expedition against them.

¹ San is Chinese for three.

THE PROVINCE & ITS PEOPLES 3

Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with 175 three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance.

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175 by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

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175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
 177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwei-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

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with the character *Kwei* meaning "demon" and thus would mean "Demon Region," that is, "the region inhabited by demons." Sometimes it was written *Kwei Fang*, "demon place" or "land of demons." The inhabitants were also called *Lo-si Kwei* or "Lo-si demons," which probably had reference to the spiral form in which some of them did up their hair. 103

What is now Kweichow was only constituted a province, with Kweiyang Fu as its capital, about two hundred years ago. Previous to that time that portion of the present province north of the Wu-kiang or "Crow River" was part of the province of Szechwan. South of that river were semi-independent kingdoms; *I-chia* or *Lo-lo* who call themselves *No-su* in the west, and *Miao-chia* in the east. Hundreds of years previous to that time Chinese armies had marched into Kweichow and left garrisons in different places. 175.

One hundred and fifty years ago, when Roman Catholic missionaries made a map of the Empire, some parts of southern Kweichow were put down as occupied by *Sen Miao* or "Independent Miao." Evidently at that time some of the Miao were still independent, for if they had in any way admitted Chinese sovereignty they would not have been reckoned

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175 as *Sen Miao*. The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

When the traveller reaches the top of a high

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao, being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came. 175

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago. 173 171

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 秧苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoq Glz or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao 101

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684 then the life of the lover will be threatened when the affair comes to the knowledge of her husband or fiancé. If both lovers are killed, society takes no notice of the case; but if only one party is killed, the other could still prosecute the matter.

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562 There are other restrictions between men and women. If
574 male guests arrive, only the host of the family sits at the table, and the mistress takes no part in the reception. Likewise, if female guests arrive, the hostess will act her part but the master of the house will ignore the visit, at most exchanging a few polite remarks. Male and female guests are rarely seen sharing the same table. On the other hand, when men and women are found wining and singing together the women would be considered as crazy and shameless, and public opinion would be to their detriment.

From this it may be seen that the relationship between men and women among the Sui-chia, although not reaching the extent of "not handing things to each other," is subject to the closest scrutiny from all sides.

(This article was originally published in the Fu-nü kung-tso [Woman's Work], Vol. I, No. 1, and Vol. II, No. 1, February and March, 1940.)

[113] The Story of the Miao Ancestors

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

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574 There are many different Miao-I tribes in Kweichow, but
569 in the opinion of modern anthropologists they fall into three large groups. According to their geographical distribution those in the east are mostly the Miao, those in the south and the south-west are mostly the Chung-chia, and those in the northwest along the Wei-ning area are mostly the Lolo. The Miao probably came from Hunan. (Originally they were distributed in Central

[113 cont.]

- 174 563 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first, the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology. Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of languages is an important method of study, while a comparative study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.
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The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a certain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his conclusion:

"It is obvious that in the tales of a people those incidents of the everyday life that are of importance to them will appear either incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most of the references to the mode of life of the people will be an accurate reflection of their

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171 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did
773 not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This
also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after
the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many
changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding
the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive peo-
ple originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting
from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as
spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural
fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to
obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became
more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one
by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of
these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily
solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from
the American Indians to show that the method of friction pre-
ceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of
174 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against
372 a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it
does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the
making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron
age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire,
and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later
by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the
Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same
time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with locali-
ties, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by
the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of
our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an"
[Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos.
4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolu-
tionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised
in its present form.)

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CHAPTER III

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Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.²⁷ After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.²⁸ In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,²⁹ is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

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7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

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The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,³⁰ from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,³¹ this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

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port it, although, in general, this corresponds to the trend of the route of Miao migration traced by Ling and Jui.

This would also refute the contention that the present Miao are descendants of the early San-Miao whose territory was in the north Hu-nan area.

We thus come up against the problem of the connection between the so-called San-Miao and the modern Miao. Some Chinese writers have contended that the Miao of today are the descendants of the ancient San-Miao, and moreover, according to Chu Hsi-tsu, "make the absurd claim that the Miao preceded the Han-Chinese in China".³² Hirth, however, accepted the fact of the descent of the modern Miao from the San-Miao. He wrote:

According to one of the commentaries, the Glutton, or T'au-t'ie, was identical with a personage or tribe (for it appears to be an ethnic name) called San-miau, whom the emperor banished from his dominions and who originally occupied the regions about Mt. Hong-shan and the shores of T'ung-t'ing Lake in the present Hu-nan province. From these ancient seats the emperor is said to have banished them to a place called San-wei, which Chinese commentators have identified with a locality now known as San-wei-shen in the neighborhood of Tun-huang-hien in northwestern Kan-su. The San-miau are considered the forefathers of the Tangutans, or K'iang, the southern neighbors of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians, before their great migration westward in the second century B.C. and of the Miao-tzi tribes. If Klaproth's derivation, based on Chinese notices, of the origin of the Tibetan race from these K'iang tribes holds good (Cf. S. W. [113] Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 439), the legend of the banishment by the Emperor Shun of the San-miau, their ancestors, may be looked upon as a symbolic allusion to the shifting of their aboriginal seats. It would appear from this tradition that Tangutans, Tibetans, and Miao-tzi originally occupied the north of Hu-nan province and were thence driven westward, owing to the rapid growth of the Chinese race.

Less cautious than Hirth, Eickstedt³⁴ had no hesitation in saying that it is clear from the evidence that the Miao are derived from the San-Miao, who according to

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174 the Water Classic were located in the Upper Wei Ho Valley during the Hsia Dynasty (B.C. 2205-1766). Let us follow his account of the evolution and migration of the Miao. It is true enough, he said, that the name of the Miao disappears for a long period from the literature, as occurs in frequent cases among the other tribes. Perhaps, swept over by the storm of west barbarians such as the Tibetan Ch'iang whose territory occupied the area between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan, they are concealed under the names of tribes with Tibetan affinities. To this group belong the Tang Hsiang which, wrote Eickstedt, Han sources clearly indicate are the descendants of the San-Miao. They occupied the Upper Wei Valley where the old San-Miao had existed. From period to period a succession of folk names whose folk were closely related - San-Miao, Ch'iang, Fan, and Miao, was pushed southward. But since the Sung period, the name Miao has become fixed upon a circumscribed group of tribes people who, above all, are found in Kueichou.

The present-day, though not the ancient, Miao language has been strongly influenced by the Mon Khmer, according to Eickstedt, and is looked upon by many, indeed, as being as much Mon Khmer in character as the Yao. However, the T'ai influence is so strong that it works as a tie between the two groups today. In any case, the east Tibetan element, - perhaps the remnant of the Ch'iang, - is unrecognizable. All this certainly does not exclude the possibility that as early as the Hsia Dynasty the Miao reached as far as the border of Kueichou or Ch'u, as in the actual case with the Ch'iang. Once upon a time, however, asserted Eickstedt, they did not extend this far, and they never were the sole inhabitants of the area. For the Ch'u Kingdom was a rice culture kingdom of the plains whose T'ai population could have had only a loose sovereignty over the adjacent passes and valley slopes, and perhaps not even these at times.

With this, said Eickstedt, we come to a significant point and apparently this significance ties the Miao to the San-Miao. Even the San-Miao were, as indicated by the ancient character for their name (grass radical over field) not rice farmers of the hot, moist valley slopes, but mountain-meadow nomads just as they were in the middle ancient period and at present. The oldest sources reveal such Miao as "southern barbarians" in the mountain steppes, i.e., the northern Ch'in-ling Mountains, while

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the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese.

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia³⁵ gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chow but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.³⁶ The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them.

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-

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174 liang, historically the San-Miao of the Shang History who
 114 were driven from the Yellow River Plain to the northwest
 by the Han-Chinese have no relation to the San-Miao de-
 scribed by Han Fei-tzu in the Book of History.³⁷ The lat-
 ter were a southern people living between the P'o-yang
 Lake and the T'ung-t'ing Lake. If this be so, then the pro-
 ponents of the preceding arguments have confused a south-
 ern San-Miao with a northern San-Miao which has no re-
 lation to the southern one. However, Chiang gave this as
 his evaluation of conflicting evidence. The authorities that
 many Chinese historians have used to contend that the Miao
 are descendants of the Hsia Dynasty San-Miao are the Chan-
 kuo-ts'e (Warring States Records) (B.C. 403-221) and the
 Wei Ts'e (Records of the Wei Dynasty: A.D. 220-277). These
 state that the habitat of the San-Miao is to the left of the
 T'ung-t'ing (looking at it from the north), and to the right
 of P'ang-li (P'o-yang Lake). Because the character Miao
 in San-Miao is the same as that for the modern Miao, and
 because the modern Miao are found in the same locality,
 the connection appears to be plausible and has been assumed
 to be a fact. Nevertheless, after the period of the Ch'in and
 the Han, the historical records do not carry the nomencla-
 ture of Miao until the beginning of the Sung and Yuan, 700
 to 1000 years later.³⁸

The pre-Ch'in historical works refer to three terms
 using the character Miao as applied to an ethnic group.
 (1) San-Miao (2) Yu-Miao and (3) Miao-min. Various ex-
 planations have been offered for the meaning of the charac-
 ters San ("three"), Yu ("there are"), and Min ("people"),
 especially in writings since Han and T'ang times. Ling
 Shun-sheng considered that San was not meant to limit the
 number of Miao tribes to three, but that it was used merely
 in the Chinese fashion to indicate that there were more than
 just one or two. In the same way, for instance, the Chiu-Li
 (Nine Li) were not necessarily limited to nine tribes or
 groups. (Ling referred the reader to Wang Chung's arti-
 cle in the first issue of Shu Hsueh entitled Tz'u San Chiu
 (an interpretation of "three" and "nine"). The character
 Yu in Yu-Miao is a modifier added for the sake of euphony
 and rhythm.

Writers on the classics since the Han and T'ang have
 largely taken San-Miao as the name of a state, according
 to Ling. Thus, Ma Jung said: "In the western frontier, San-
 Miao is the name of a state. Its nobles are the descend-
 ants of Chin Yün." Or the writers referred to San-Miao

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as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.³⁹

Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.⁴¹ A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tzu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area).

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166 West of the Man were the Mao people. From the Spring
 174 and Autumn period, the Man came into ascendancy, and gradually they began to migrate southeastward, invading the area of the Chiu-li. The Chiu-li then are supposed to have retreated gradually southward across the Wu Ling into Ling-nan. The Mao, on the other hand, advanced from Hu-pei into Ssu-ch'uan and then into Kuei-chou. The various historical works since the Han refer to the Li people as living throughout Ling-nan and Hai-nan Island, as well as Tongking. These Li were of the same group of people as the Chiu-li of former times. Thus, the Li appear to have once occupied the Central Yang-tzu Plain area and then retreated southward under the pressure of the Man and Mao. They represent the early T'ai of Ch'u Kingdom. The Mao and Man, on the other hand, appear to represent the later dominant tribes of Ch'u, and were related to the Miao of today.⁴²

The evidence presented by Ling indicates that the original situation of the Mao during the later part of the Chou period (Spring and Autumn period) was within the borders of P'ing-lu Hsien in Shan-hsi. After this period, because of the calamities and precarious livelihood of the Warring States Period and the struggle between the Han and the Ch'u states, the Mao gradually migrated from the territories of the states of Chin and Hsiang to Pa and Shu in present-day Ssu-ch'uan. From Pa and Shu they drifted to Yueh-sui (now the Hsi-ch'ang area of eastern Hsi-k'ang). The Book of Poetry has the line: "Like Mao, like Man," because at this time the territory of the Mao was adjacent to the territory of the Man. The Mao were west of the Man, and for this reason Cheng Ch'ien calls them the Hsi-Yi or Western Yi. The Mao were close kin to the Man, according to Chang P'ing-lin, and Ling Shun-sheng went along with this conclusion. During the earliest historical times in China the Man inhabited the southwest part of Ho-nan around the present city of Nan-yang. By the time of the Chou Dynasty, the Man were occupying the drainage area of the Han and Yang-tzu and were called the Ching-Man from the name of the political division including the Hupei-Hunan territories. The Man tribes grew in power and prosperity from the Chou to the T'ang period, and the term Man gradually changed to take in all the tribes of the south. Since the Man (Miao) were slope farmers and mountain dwellers, their growth in strength here may be explained by the lack of competition for their pre-

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ferred habitat, because the T'ai were valley bottom inhabitants and land-users. The term Mao probably became hidden under the general term Man, especially since they were similar peoples. For this reason the term Mao disappeared from historical records for a thousand years. Or perhaps the Mao had migrated from Yueh-sui eastward and entered Kuei-chou where they became lost to Chinese contact. During the long intervening period, according to Ling, phonetical changes occurred in the language, and Mao thus emerged into more recent historical times as Miao. The migration of this group of Miao people, the "Mao", therefore, was one that led southward from Shan-hsi through Hupei, and Ssu-ch'uan to Kuei-chou through the course of over three thousand years.⁴³

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The sum of the foregoing arguments leads the present writer to the following conclusions: Definite proof has not been adduced to show whether the Hu-nan San-Miao are or are not related to the Kan-su San-Miao. The likelihood that they belong to the same ethnic group is strong, however, and this common ethnic group is that of the "Man". The term "Man", although used during certain periods of history as a general term for all the southern non-Han tribes peoples, is used to denote the Miao ethnic group specifically during other long periods, but is not used as a specific term for the T'ai ethnic group. The term "Man" appears to be a phonetic rendition of the term "Mon" as used in Mon Khmer to which ethnic classification the Miao belong. The San-Miao of Hu-nan were cultural predecessors of the modern Miao and constituted an alien ruling group over the Chiu-li (Nine Li) tribes of the T'ai ethnic group. These San-Miao (Miao or Man) in the Hu-nan area were late-comers compared to the Chiu-li who were earlier inhabitants: i.e., the T'ai groups of the Yang-tzu and South China area preceded the Miao in the occupancy sequence. The Miao came as an alien invader into the land occupied predominantly by aboriginal T'ai and were successful at times in subjugating some of the T'ai tribes.

At this point the discussion in the preceding section 6 may be followed up: that is, the relation of the Miao to the Ch'u Kingdom. The Ch'u gentry claimed the quasi-mythical Han-Chinese Emperor Chuan Hsu as their ancestor. Chuan Hsu was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor. A branch of Chuan Hsu's line remained in Ssu-ch'uan and reportedly became the Ch'u Clan. Whether this story is so, or whether it was invented by the later Ch'u rulers

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to avoid being looked at askance by the Han-Chinese states of the north, the forefathers of the Ch'u derived from the upper reaches of the Yang-tzu tributaries and migrated eastward to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, according to Chiang Ying-liang.⁴⁴ The Ch'u were just one branch of the Miao cultural group, he claimed. The Later Han History tells of the Pan-shun Man tribes who lived on both banks of the middle reaches of the Chia-ling Chiang near Lan-chung in Ssu-ch'uan at the time of the Ch'in Empire. A branch of the tribe moved northward to occupy the Han-chung area of southern Shen-hsi. Another branch moved down the Yang-tzu eastward to occupy the lands of Hu-pei and Hu-nan to live with the various tribes that had already moved into the area. These Pan-shun Man also have the P'an-hu myth and presumably were of the same group as the Ch'u; both being related to the present-day Miao, said Chiang. During the Period of Division between North and South (5th and 6th Centuries), they were called the Ching-yang Man in the south and the Man-Liao in the north. The Liao were another branch of the Miao ethnic group, according to Chiang. Lao and Liao appear to be two pronunciations for the same name. Cochrane followed Lacouperie in calling them Shan or T'ai people.⁴⁵ Moreover, Eberhard advanced the view that the Miao originally were Yao strongly mixed with T'ai,⁴⁷ while Ling Shun-sheng claimed that the name Yao became attached to the Miao after they entered Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi.⁴⁸ Ling has not furnished adequate proof for this, however.

The T'ung-k'ao-ssu-yi says that the Liao were first seen in the northwest part of Ssu-ch'uan and later migrated southeastward to the Min Chiang, Pa Chiang and Chia-ling Chiang areas. From there they migrated during Sui and T'ang times (6th to 10th Centuries A.D.) down the Yang-tzu to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, some directing themselves northeastward into China Proper, while others drifted southward into Kuei-chou and Ling-nan. Subsequent to the T'ang, the name Liao became merged with Man to become Liao-Man (this again indicates their close relationship to each other). It also is possible to interpret Liao-Man as Liao and Man, indicating two separate groups. From this account, Chiang grouped as members of the Miao "race" the Ch'u, Pa, Pan-shun Man and Liao, all of whom migrated by the same general routes to the T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes region, where the Wu Ling Man had long since established themselves when the

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Han-Chinese first contacted the Southern Man tribes.⁴⁹

It is clear from this grouping that Chiang did not distinguish the people generally considered by Western scholars to belong to the T'ai group such as the Pa, the Liao (Lao), and Ch'u, from the Man or the Miao. Hsu Sung-shih appeared to suffer from a similar tendency to overlook ethnological and cultural differences in arguing certain theories, while emphasizing them in arguing other theories. By a complicated philological juggling, for instance he tried to demonstrate that the Miao, Yao and Chuang or T'ai merely form three sub-groups of the southern branch of the same Chinese people as those of the Han group. While the northern Han-Chinese are descendants of the Yellow Emperor, he said, these southern tribes are descendants of Emperor Yen or Shen-nung, and both are equally Chinese.⁵⁰

A largely pastoral people originally, the Miao migrated from western Ssu-ch'uan for two reasons, according to Chiang: (1) to seek new pastures (2) to escape the pressure of other peoples. In accordance with the first reason, they migrated toward the plains, looked for well-watered grasslands, sought warmer regions, (this does not accord with Miao preference for the cool high mountain slopes) and they followed the rivers.

It was the pressure of the south-moving Tibetan Ch'iang people that forced the migration of the Miao whose old homeland was in eastern Hsi-k'ang and northeast of Ch'eng-tu in the Tzu-t'ung region. The Western Ch'iang who moved into this area became the later Lolo people, according to Chiang. Their southward movement forced the Miao to migrate downstream. This Ch'iang pressure can be seen from some historical incidents. In the Records of the southern Man of the Later Han History, the account reads that: in the 3rd year of Kuang-ho (A.D. 180), the Emperor wished to raise a great army. He asked the Census Commissioner of Yi-chou to investigate the strategy for pacification. The Han-ching registrar reported as follows: The Pan-shun Man have seven clans. Their forefathers shot the White Tiger and gained merit in earlier times (during the Ch'in Dynasty). They have become Sinicized and their people are valiant and brave warriors. When the Ch'iang invaded Han-ch'uan (Han-chung Department) and disrupted administration at the beginning of the reign of An-ti (A.D. 107), the Pan-shun came to the rescue and routed the Ch'iang with a great slaughter. Hence they have been called the

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CHAPTER III

Supernatural Warriors. In the second year of the reign of Huan-ti (A.D. 148) there occurred another great Ch'iang invasion. It truly again depended upon the Pan-shun reinforcements to break the invaders.

The above account, said Chiang, shows that the Miao peoples in the west had borne the brunt of Ch'iang attacks. In the course of time, the frequency of Ch'iang outbreaks finally forced the Miao to reassess their situation and to decide upon moving away from the constant Ch'iang pressure.⁵¹

From Chou and pre-Chou times down to the end of the Han in the 3rd Century A.D., therefore, the Miao peoples were migrating eastward down the Yang-tzu drainage from Ssu-ch'uan. This was a steady drift and not a single mass movement. However, two major epochs in this process are evident. The first one involved the settling of the Wu Ling and the Ch'ang-sha Man in the upper Hu-nan area. The second major movement followed the north bank of the Yang-tzu, emerged from the Yang-tzu Gorge Mountains in the vicinity of present-day Tzu-kuei District upriver from Yi-ch'ang. Here these Miao settled for a period. Then they moved farther down river and spread out to occupy the whole Central Yang-tzu Basin, according to Chiang. These were the Ch'u people who formed the Ch'u State. It was the steadily increasing Miao settlers from Ssu-ch'uan that led to the emergence of the powerful Ch'u State, said Chiang.⁵² There is some support for this contention that the Ch'u chieftains were of the Miao group, if it be conceded that the Man of the Chou period were in fact Miao. For we have from the mouth of the Ch'u king himself that: "We are Man barbarians and have nothing to do with Chinese titles." (On the other hand, Hsu claimed that the Ching-Man were only the early names of T'ai peoples in the T'ung-t'ing Lake area, although he failed to provide convincing proof of this.)⁵³ Moreover, Eickstedt has pointed out that Erkes in a study of ancient Ch'u vocabulary seemed to find some connection with the Miao language, although Eickstedt did not agree with his conclusions. The language at least was demonstrated to be different from that of Han-Chinese. Nevertheless, Ch'u is constantly linked in historical sources with Yueh and at the same time even more sources link Ch'u with the Pa people and Shu, all of whom appear to have been T'ai. Ch'u, said Eberhard, appears to have had a substratum of Yao that, intermixed gradually with the Yueh, evolved

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people, With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,⁵⁴ considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".⁵⁵

In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

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CHAPTER III

174 it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and
 563 the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although orig-
 619 inally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment
 M of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drain-
 174 ages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and
 563 fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood.
 619 The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost
 in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of
 the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their
 strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able
 to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist
 Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five
 Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern
 Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff com-
 bat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern
 Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time
 of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a
 small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei)
 defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'u Hsia.
 Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural
 elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was un-
 able to absorb this independent group of Miao that had mi-
 grated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao
 entity to modern times.⁵⁶

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many
 Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureau-
 cracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary
 to follow Hirth¹ in considering that the tribes peoples of
 Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who
 became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities."
 This sort of a development is not impossible, of course,
 for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of
 Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Siniciza-
 tion of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally
 convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encoun-
 tered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries
 later in the shape of important changes that must have
 taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folk-
 lore, superstitions and art."⁵⁷ Lao-tzu, the founder of
 Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, prob-
 ably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain
 wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature
 points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly
 goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.⁵⁸

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The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)⁵⁹ to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries).

This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.⁶⁰

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yu-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.⁶¹

During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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HISTORY AND MIGRATIONS

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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 175
20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei- 721
chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was
made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving 69 S
them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains. 175
The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to 669
Burma in the 1890's, describes the devastation suffered
by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet
recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place
called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town
wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed
a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which
now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or
two. It is one among many others which have suffered
during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao
or aborigines living in the hills south of the river." 70

As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions
of the last two centuries started a new period of migra- 175
tion for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan S
groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agri- 175
culturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded
mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black
Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hai. The Red
Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-
chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of
Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to
their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao
traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of
Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on
to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some
of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to
the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao
scattered in many directions and are found now mostly
in Hu-nan, Kuang-hai, and Yun-nan. Many of these south-
west provinces have representatives of different tribes of
Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small
groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated.
When the different groups of Miao live together in one lo-
cality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural
practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish mem-
bers of one group from those of another. 71

The above delineation of Miao history and migration
brings us back to the consideration of the groups related
to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan,
who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

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M er. Among other evidences of a close relationship between the modern Miao and the ancient Fan is the fact that seven ancient family or clan names among the Fan also occur among the modern Miao.⁷² The Fan have formed a kind of buffer between the Tibetan Ch'iang and the Han-Chinese and often bore the brunt of eastward expansionist pressure of the Ch'iang tribes. The culture of the Fan has drawn close to that of the Ch'iang.⁷³ The debate among Chinese researchers as to whether these Ch'iang are the same as the Ch'iang of the oracle bones has never been decided, although everything seems to point to this conclusion.⁷⁴ This group of Tibetan Ch'iang people during the Han period when they first became more exactly known, inhabited the northern part of Tibet, the Kokonor or Lake Ch'ing-hai region. Parts of Kan-su, great parts of Shensi, and the border regions of Ssu-ch'uan and even parts of Hu-pei and Shan-hsi were occupied by them.⁷⁵

The 32 tribes and folk of the Fan Group as mentioned in Chinese history on the whole occupied the region of present day Kuei-chow and the northwest part of Kuang-hsi. References to them are limited almost entirely to the Sung Dynasty period. We must assume, said Eberhard, that prior to the Sung the habitat of these tribes had not yet been penetrated by the Han-Chinese. More important and difficult is the question as to why the references cease after the Sung period. From then on the expression Fan only applies to tribes in the Tibetan Plateau and no more to this group in Kuei-chow and Kuang-hsi. From this period on and especially during the Ming Dynasty the name Miao becomes prominent (it may be well to recall here the hypothesis about Mao and Miao). Since references to migrations are lacking, said Eberhard, we must assume a tie-up between Fan and Miao. Unfortunately, all the references to the Kuei-chow Fan are very short and poor. The Chinese sources know little of these tribes and most often give no more than the name attaching them to a description of the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang: (We shall come to further references to Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang in our discussion of the early history of Ling-nan later in this chapter.) Eberhard with some uncertainty included the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang peoples with the Wu Man Group. Various indications link the Fan with the Lolo and in a large sense to the Tibetan peoples. Nevertheless, the Fan have characteristics of the South Chinese cultures and appear to be the direct forefathers of the present-day

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Miao tribes.⁷⁶

The Miao themselves, interpreted from their culture, represent an intermixture of a large number of differing cultural elements, including Chuang or T'ai, Yao, and Tibetan.⁷⁷

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The historical sources have indicated that the Man or Miao peoples migrated eastward from western Ssu-ch'uan or the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. This places their origin in the region occupied by the Fan in modern times. In fact, whether conscious of the distinction between Miao and Fan or not, both Boulger and Grantham called the west Ssu-ch'uan Fan by the term Miao when they discussed the great Fan uprisings of 1746 and 1772-76 on the Big and Little Gold River tributaries of the Ta-tu Ho in the plateau land northwest of Ch'eng-tu.⁷⁸

In a sense more fortunate than the Kuei-chou Miao, the West Ssu-ch'uan Fan occupy lands even less attractive to the agricultural Han-Chinese than the high mountain slopes of Kuei-chou. Without the inducement of low-lying valley lands for the Han-Chinese farmers such as exist in Kuei-chou, the lands of the Fan are occupied by Han-Chinese only in the chief towns and there only by merchants and official elements. The problem of Fan displacement by Han-Chinese agriculturalists has not arisen to the same extent therefore. Here, then, tribal autonomy has been enabled to continue for a longer time and more thoroughly than in Kuei-chou.

8. The History and Migrations of the Lolo

In our preceding discussion of the early spread of the Miao into Kuei-chou, it was noted that this spread was probably checked in southern and western Kuei-chou by the Lolo who were recorded as masters and occupants of the area in the 3rd Century A.D. Wissman said that the entire highland triangle of Central and northeast Yun-nan was occupied by the Lolo prior to the coming of the Han-Chinese.⁷⁹ Their stronghold comprises the Ta-liang Shan, a mass of high mountains at the meeting point of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang.⁸⁰ They are the group referred to in Chinese texts under the more inclusive ethnic name of Wu Man or Black Man, from the dark brown skin pigment of this race of people. Eickstedt and Eberhard classed them as Austro-Asiatic in racial stock, otherwise known as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.

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If one keeps it in mind that during my investigations in Farther India I discovered again and again that even today the valley peoples constantly confuse the Yau /Yao/ and Meau, although, especially in northern Thailand, for example, there are very pronounced differences even in externals between the two tribes, one cannot but assume that in former times the situation was no different in the Chinese territories. Credner (2) be-

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2. IV, p. 166.

believes that the Meau were named after cats by the Chinese, an opinion which is also held by E. Lunet de Lajonquière (3), who

3. Page 296.

maintains that the word Meau is the Sino-Annamese pronunciation of a written character meaning "cat." According to him, however, the Meau call themselves "mung," or rather "h'mung." Marabail's accounts (4) also agree with these opinions: "In the

4. Page 451.

Annamese language, Meau means cat, perhaps because the dialect reminded the Chinese of the mewing of cats or because the Meau are actually as nimble as cats. One need only observe the /7/ suppleness with which they climb rocks." In referring to the tone color of the Meau language, Von Eickstedt (1) also

1. V, p. 53.

traces the name back to "cats" and calls the word onomatopoeic. He points out, however, that it might also characterize the catlike skill of the Meau in climbing their mountains; also, contemptuous expressions such as "despised like cats" may have played a role. On the other hand, the old Chinese historical work, Mong-tse, compares the language of the Meau with the howling or cry of the hyena.

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In addition to the conclusions based on "cat" for the name Meau, there are attempts by others, for example, M. Terrien, to explain it on the basis of the agricultural activities of the Meau. To be sure, he points out that the ancient character for "Meau" represented a cat's head and was supposed to mean cat, because their highly vocalized language reminds one of the mewling of cats, but he further states that the ancient Sinologists translated "Miau-tse" as "son of the soil." But this, he says, was an error brought about by the modern analysis of Chinese writing. According to Terrien, the character for Meau consists of one part meaning "plant" and another meaning "field." In translating tse as "child," the meaning "son of the soil" resulted. Witek (2).

2. Page 38.

who has a different interpretation of the word, also discusses the undertone of contempt mentioned by Von Eickstedt (1) /see footnote 1 above/. According to Witek, the Chinese use Meau or Meau-tse to designate foreigners, that is, non-Chinese, and, to be sure, with reference to the "tillers of the soil," "the peasants," and therefore Meau-tse are the people of the soil, the farmers, who do not belong to the "Great Nation." Witek goes on to say that the Chinese give the word a certain contemptuous undertone in the sense of "boorish peasant" or "country bumpkin." Ordinarily, and especially if the word is supposed to have this meaning, the designation tse is added, hence Meau-tse. Imbert (3), at any rate, shares the opinion that the character

3. Page 3.

"Meau" corresponds to agriculture. Witek's (2) /see footnote 2 above/ information concerning the use of the expression Meau for all non-Chinese corresponds to the evidence of Schotter (4), who

4. Vol. III, p. 405.

points out that Meau can be used as an adjective and as a noun.

Miao AES

/7 cont. /

101 According to him, it is often used in the latter sense in
174 Kweichow to designate non-Chinese. /8/ Furthermore, Schotter is of the opinion that the words Yau and Meau have the same meaning and that Yau-Meau is merely the reduplication of one and the same expression. In the ancient Chinese legends he finds the expression Tche-Yeau as the name of the chief of eighty-one brothers, by which the tribes of the Meau are to be understood. And in fact, according to Wieger (1), Ch'ih'yu was

1. Page 10.

the leader of the Meau when the latter were decisively beaten near Cho-Chon by the Chinese under the leadership of Huan-Yuan (Huang-ti). Although the Meau and Yau are undoubtedly two altogether different peoples, Schotter's attempted derivation of the name Tche-Yeau is still possible. Finally, as Savina (2)

2. II, p. 175.

states, according to P. Wieger, the word Meau means "rice planter," an interpretation which, all things considered, seems to be more plausible than the derivation from "cat."

101 The Meau are given different names by the various peoples and tribes with whom they come into contact. According to Witek (3), the Thai of Kweichow call them Yeou; in South

3. Page 44.

China they are said to be called Mro; in Tonkin and French Laos, however, Mang, Mong, M'long, and finally H'mong, which is what they call themselves. In the Meau language this latter expression means simply "human being," a designation that would correspond to those of many other peoples. The Siamese, Lao, Kamuk, Yau, Schan /Shan/, and Tin call them Meau, the Chinese, M'laotsé. The Meau in Thailand call themselves "Moñ." Accordingly, the groups of White Meau which I investigated were called "Moñ kleo"; the Black Meau, "Moñ klü."

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The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

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We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

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each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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175 It is to be deeply regretted that almost nothing is known as yet concerning the history of the Akha, and therefore comparative material between them and the Meau is lacking.

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Chapter 3

Origin and Habitation Sites

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174 It is possible for us to trace the history of the Meau over a period of four and a half millennia. Thus there are unexpected possibilities, especially for the ethnologist, who, as a rule, has to be satisfied with observations based on a few generations in the life of a people.

Concerning the original homeland of the Meau, Von Eickstedt (1) writes: "The tribal conglomeration of the present-

1. III, p. 9.

day Meau, in the essential aspects of its physical composition and cultural individuality, may have originated in the steppe region where Tibet, Mongolia, and Old China touch. In the subsequent more and more violently pulsating restlessness of the Tungoid steppe peoples of Mongolia and the ever more oppressive numerical superiority of the Sinoid farmers of North China and later also of South China, there was sought the only way out that presented itself. This line of least resistance led in the direction of those areas which at the beginning of our era were still practically free of people and at the same time offered possibilities for the original native form of economy. Thus there developed a route, an anthropo-dynamic current, leading over the alpine meadows of the mountain ranges first of West China, then of South China and Farther India. In view of the finger-like extension of the mountain ranges from the Tibetan plateau, this route was bound to lead the Meau ever farther south.

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This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu tén, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/

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In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nya lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

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The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been reported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

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2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

AKha A04
M:AO AE5

M /23 cont. /

174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

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Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet, Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia. The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

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A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

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As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and

1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

Miao AES

/ 27 cont. /

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao (4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka / Mon-Khmer Kha / live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

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Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable."

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... "However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this

1/2 [ie - "Killed off" - ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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928 cont. /

great migratory tribe has visited almost all the mountains of Asia. Even today one would look in vain for Meau in the plains. The Meau of Kwangsi, of Kweichow, of Szechwan, of Yunnan, of Tonkin, of Laos are all mountain folk."

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The Akha, too, always live in the high parts of the mountains. In addition to the regions named in connection with the Meau, the state of Kengtung should be added as the chief settlement area of the Akha. Telford divides the levels occupied by the various tribes as follows: the Lahu live highest, below them the Lisu, and below them the Akha. "The latter often settle in markedly steep mountain areas, though they prefer mountains of medium height."

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This pronounced preference of the mountain tribes for high settlement areas is very striking.

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Under these circumstances it is understandable that the question of the reason for this strange fact has occupied other authors. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "If one asks them

1. II, p. 174.

why they live in the mountains and why they abhor the plains, they give various answers:

'In the mountains it is less hot, humid, and unhealthy.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because we are afraid of the water, the leeches, and the buffalo.'

'We cannot live in the plains because we were born in the mountains. Transplanted trees never thrive.'

'How can we leave the mountains where the graves of our ancestors are?'

'The inhabitants of the plains are accustomed to the work and the cultivation of the plains, we Meau to the work and the cultivation of the mountains.'

'The people of the plains do not speak our language. How could we understand them?'

'If we were to descend into the plains, our girls would marry people who do not belong to our race.'

AKha A 04
Miao AES

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'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

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In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria.

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In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

Akha A04
Miro AE5

/108 cont./

A even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her.
 595 Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is
 [422] the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or
 [606] unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among
 [179] the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the
 A Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the
 M wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity,
 837 which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a
 684 man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant,
 provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the
 man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon.
 It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman
 and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to
 pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be
 punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of
 such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige
 in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution
 [558] of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter
 among the Akha than among the Meau.

Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse
 now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes
 pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it
 to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig
 means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.

Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-
 purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase
 for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the
 Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former
 times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as
 yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is
 indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper
 to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

/109 cont./

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to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

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Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1).

1. I. p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

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Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

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[114]
2. II. p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/406 cont. /

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
 824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107)² and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81)² are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82)³ and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99)¹ are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells, and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

[386] Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
 324 tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
 [412] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand
 [174] took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94)⁵ or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365) and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
 2 + 3 [" " " p596 - "]
 1 [" " " p664 - "]
 2 [" " " p644 - "]
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AKha A04
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/443 cont. /

A up a light red under the crust on the cheeks of young girls,
M Such Europoid or Europiform elements also appear among the
144 Lolo in Yunnan.

"The skin coloring of the people is often actually Europoid light. Under the /444/ armpit tones of 3, 7 and 10 (according to v. L. /von Luschan/) are very common, but the faces show 14-17, with a strong yellow tone that the table does not cover. The features of the Miao, however, are Sinoid, not at all Paleo-Mongoloid, and not even especially frequently Southern Sinoid. From the Central Sinoid type the range of variation goes to Tungoid flatness on the one hand and on the other hand to decidedly Europiform, narrow-faced, aquiline-nosed types."

This Europoid element is also reported for the closest relatives, according to Von Eickstedt -- direct ancestors would be better -- of the Meau, the Tjiang, still hardly investigated even today. Torrance, too, writes that the latter are definitely of a western and not Mongolian type."

It is noteworthy that Von Eickstedt (1) confirms from the

1. II, p. 59.

anthropological aspects the assertions of the Meau concerning the absence of any close relationship with the Man (Yau /Yao/): "A glance at the broad, more delicate, light-yellow faces of the Man again shows, as in Nieng Pu, that racially they represent a quite different mixture. They are far more Southern Sinoid than the Miao." With this Von Eickstedt unequivocally refutes Marabail's (2) assertion that the Meau, with all the differences

2. Page 131.

of the customs, are identical with the Yau /Yao/ (Man) in anthropological respects, Von Eickstedt (3) finally comes to

3. II, p. 53.

/444 cont./

144 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological
174 standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to
the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part
of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which,
in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or
pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to
the way that this happened in the western part through the Cen-
tral Sinoid Thai."

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Chapter 28

Language

193 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language
114 with five different tones. The best expert on it, P. P. Savina (1),
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1. II. p. 168.

writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken
with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from
all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence

2. Page 131.

of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity
in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese,
Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts

3. II. p. 198.

the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as
the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina,

4. Vol. XI. Part I. p. 200.

classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

AKha A04
Miao AES

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Chapter 32

Contribution to Ethnology

000 In Farther India and especially in Thailand a wealth of ethnological problems await solution. It seems to me that the completely obscure, but for many reasons especially important problems are those relating to the mountain peoples, as well as the problems of the forest peoples, who are classified under the name of "Karen," though they consist of thoroughly heterogeneous anthropological and ethnological elements, and finally, the origin and organization of those groups of peoples that are made up of the so-called Moi peoples.

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● 174 The clarification of this international picture confronting us today must, however, be combined with a consideration of those migrations of peoples that have been going on in Farther India for thousands of years and even today have not yet come to an end. Countless waves of peoples have pushed down from the north toward the south, have poured over Thailand territory, and have advanced farther to the south, beyond the Malay Peninsula, to Indonesia and the island world of the South Seas. The point of departure of almost all the waves of people was the vast living spaces of Central Asia; the direction of migration on the continent has been oriented principally from north to south. Only the smallest part of these migrations have been dealt with scientifically; indeed, only in the last few years did any serious consideration of them begin. The first attempts to classify groups of peoples on the basis of prehistoric findings are now available. For example, Heine-Geldern IV has set up an Austro-Asiatic and an Austronesian Group and tried to give this initially linguistic classification an anthropological and cultural foundation. These two groups of peoples, however, have not yet by any means been unequivocally established scientifically as units. I have dealt in another place

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(Die grosse Völkerkunde (1)) with the problems relating to this;

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1. Vol. II, pp. 198 ff.

/479/ In the same place I have also discussed the problem of the original population. The migration of a third group of peoples, and to be sure that of the Thai peoples, on the other hand, can already be followed historically and prehistorically. The valleys and lowlands demonstrably formed the migration routes for these peoples; this can also be assumed for the earlier waves of peoples. On the other hand, the most recent migratory movement, which is still in progress today in Farther India and especially in Thailand, is being carried out by the true mountain peoples, such as the Meau, Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, Lisu, and Katschin /Kachin/. The direction has probably remained the same, but the migration routes now run on the tops of the mountains. I have tried to explain the reason for the strange fact that these peoples obviously avoid the lowlands in the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." In the present volume I have now dealt with this, to me seemingly important problem of the mountain peoples and in so doing have discussed the Meau in particular, as by far the strongest representative, both in number and vitality, of this group of peoples, as well as the Akha.

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As is brought out in the chapter, "History," we are able to follow the Meau over a span of time of almost 4,500 years. To be sure, the old sources must be evaluated critically since they deal with testimonies of the Chinese, who from ancient times have been at war with the Meau. Moreover, the descriptions of customs in these sources are very scanty and presumably mention only cultural elements that differ from those of the Chinese. In addition, they are faulty, since the authors frequently confused the various mountain tribes. In the literature of the past decades, which we owe primarily to European observers, those cultural elements that strike the casual traveler,

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M such as clothing and settlements, are always dealt with, but
114 everything else is almost totally ignored. I therefore strove to
174 record all the cultural elements of the Meau, as well as those
A of their neighbors, the Akha, within my area of investigation.
[114] in order to create, at long last, an unobjectionable basis for re-
search. It is shown from these elements presented by me in the
present work that the Meau culture is by no means to be re-
garded as homogeneous culture, but rather as a mixed one. The
various cultural influences correspond to the migration routes
known from the history of the Meau. Cultural goods from
Mongolia and Siberia and such of Tibetan /480/ origin are fre-
quently mixed with Chinese elements. In judging the latter,
caution is required, because the early Chinese also absorbed
cultural possessions of the Meau; therefore elements that today
are regarded as Chinese in origin may conversely stem from the
Meau. The anthropology confirms the cultural picture. It is
regrettable that, despite various existing studies, the language
of the Meau, like that of the Akha, has not been unequivocally
[197] classified by comparative linguists and therefore could only
partially be drawn upon for proof. The works of other authors
also supplement my observations. Koppers (1) and Shirokogoroff.

1. Pages 304 ff.

for instance, indicate cultural connections with the Tungus.
Eberhard (2) rejects a uniform Meau culture and speaks of a

2. II. pp. 271 and 274.

mixed culture in which elements of the Chuang and Yau pre-
dominate. He also mentions Tibetan influences. On the other
hand, I cannot agree with his proposal to regard the Meau as
originally Yau who have strongly interbred with the Chuang
and are only secondarily overlaid with Wuman, as well as
viewing the Fan as alleged ancestors of the Meau, since the
old Chinese sources, which he used as evidence, are too un-
reliable for the reasons already discussed, but above all the

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[114] cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned.

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

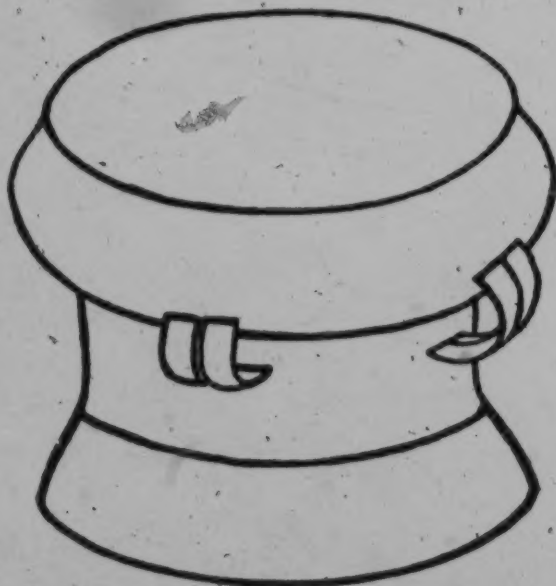
[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters.

The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte

[532] Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here. / /482/ The drum,

/482 cont. /

- 174 surface (Fig. 424) shows in the center a sun with twelve rays,
532 around which several circles with various decorations, such as wedge patterns, rings, meanders, and rows of dots, seal it off. Then follows a band, about five centimeters wide, with representations /Fig. 424 appears here/ /483/ of human beings, houses, and various scenes. Two houses have a boat-shaped roof, the ends of which are ornamented with birds' heads. Similar houses are still found even today in various parts of Indonesia, New Guinea, etc. Above each roof stands a peacock. In one



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Fig. 423 Sketch of the bronze drum, viewed obliquely from above, about 1/10 nat. size.

of the houses one can see mouth-organ players, in the other probably women preparing a meal. Beside each house there are two drums, each resting on a frame, /Fig. 425 appears here/ which are beaten with long drumsticks. These drums have the same shape as the very bronze drum being described here. Between the houses armed men with large feather crowns

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Fig. 424. A copy, faithful to the original, of the striking surface of a bronze drum from the region of Kaihwa (southeast Yunnan). Throughout centuries it is supposed to have been in the possession of the family of a Meau chief, which, according to its own tradition, brought it along from south of Kweichow. Now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.

Miao AE5

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on their heads are dancing. The representation of their clothing reminds one of the festive clothing made of palm leaves, as they are worn to this day by some /484/ Naga and Dajak /Dyak/ tribes at their head-hunter celebrations. A man with

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Fig. 425. Representation of a Mouth-organ Player with a Feather Crown. He is presumably clothed in a cloak of batiked bark-cloth. Natural size.

a crown, which presumably is made of argus-pheasant feathers, is blowing on a mouth organ (Fig. 425).

After this series of decorations there follows a representation of stylized birds, presumably flying herons arranged in the circle (Fig. 426).

On the outer surface of the drum, too, figurate representations are found. Especially striking here are four boats whose bows and sterns are clearly visible (Fig. 428). From a comparison with

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532 the sacral temple-boats still in use today on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand (Fig. 427). we can but assume that the bow is provided with a dragon's head and the stern with a dragon's tail /Fig. 426 appears here/ the latter presumably decorated with a flag. Rowers wearing feather crowns make up the crew of the boat. In each of two boats a person is sitting on a stool (Fig. 428); presumably this is a matter of shamans. Representations of sitting herons are put in between the boats. Eight reliefs, which represent warriors adorned with large feather crowns, form the lower edge of the drum. Among them a mouth-organ player



Fig. 426. Probably the representation of sitting herons, on the outer surface of the drum.

A copy true to nature, somewhat over 1/2 nat. size.

is clearly recognizable (Fig. 425). Several dancers hold a shield, two are swinging an ax (Fig. 429), and two others are holding a pear-shaped object in their hands (Fig. 430), which one could regard as a head-hunter's trophy. These men are adorned with large birds' heads looking backwards.

Taken as a whole, it is surely a matter of an over-all representation of a great celebration; it may be left undecided whether a celebration for the dead, a New Year's festival, a head-hunters' ceremony, or something similar is meant by it. The /485/ /Fig. 427 and 428 appear here/ affiliation of the producer with the culture complex of the megalith producer and head-hunter is probable in view of the cultural elements depicted. A precise treatment of this drum from an

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Fig. 427. Sacral temple-boat, about 20 meters long, of the Lao on the Nan River in northeastern Thailand. A dragon's head is set on the bow of the boat; the rear stem carved out of wood, is decorated with a flag. Only the part of the boat projecting



Fig. 428.

out of the water is visible. Pen drawing from a photograph.

Fig. 428. Representation of a boat on the outer convex surface of the bronze drum. Human beings with feather crowns are rowing the boat, whose front part seems to end in a dragon's head. A figure sitting on a seat in front of the helmsman, perhaps a female shaman. About 1/2 nat. size.

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Kachin AP6

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● 174 ethnological point of view is reserved for a work by F. M.
532 Schnitger. What interests us in this connection is whether it is actually a matter of a Meau drum and whether the persons and scenes depicted are derived from cultural possessions of the Meau, as Schnitger assumes and as seems to follow from the tradition of the family from which the drum was acquired. The clothing of the women depicted is vaguely recognizable, but in no way resembles the present-day attire of the Meau women, which, as is apparent from some of the Chinese sources, /486/ has scarcely changed for thousands of years. Similarly the clothing of the dancers represented and especially the feather crowns do not in any way remind one of the present-day clothing of the Meau men. To be sure, it should be noted here that the present-day clothing of the men, such as the wearing of turbans, is presumably not autochthonous for the mountain peoples of this area. /Fig. 429 appears here./ It has not been incontestably determined how the head-covering looked in former times. In representations in the "albums," other head-coverings can occasionally be recognized, to be sure, and Bridgman (1), too, on the basis of such Chinese representations

1. Pages 260, 261, 265, 268 ff.

expressly mentions /487/ feather crowns as customary head-adornment among various Meau tribes, but doubtlessly all such drawings originated later, and moreover the possibility of confusion with members of another "barbarian" tribe is never to be excluded. /Fig. 430 appears here./

The following facts, however, may be of significance under these circumstances: Among the Katschin /Kachin/ west of Kengtung, a people who, as is known, like the Meau, come from similar living spaces and who find themselves in the midst of a similar migratory movement, the men now wear turbans, just like the Meau. On the occasion of the performance /488/ of the ancient sword-dances, however, the leaders of the Katschin wore splendid ancient ceremonial costumes and mighty feather crowns made of argus pheasant and peacock feathers (Fig. 431).

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(Fig. 431). I have already published an over-all scene of this dance in another place (Bernatzik (1)). These ceremonial garbs

1. IV. III. 75.



Fig. 429. Representation of a dancer with feather crown and shield on the outer surface of the drum. In one hand the dancer carries a pear-shaped object, which might be regarded as a head-hunter's trophy. Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

permit one to conclude that such feather crowns were formerly also used among other mountain peoples of the latest wave of migration, to which the Katschin as well as the Meau belong. /Fig. 431 appears here. /

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The present absence of the feather crowns among the Meau is thus no proof that the feather crowns depicted on the drum were nevertheless not originally part of the cultural possessions of the Meau.

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Among the cultural elements of the Meau recorded by me, there is no indication that the pictures on the drum



Fig. 430. Representation of a dancer with ax, shield, and feather crown on the outer surface of the drum.
Copy true to nature, 11/10 nat. size.

have anything to do with the Meau. Rather, the custom of preserving the heads or at least parts of the hunting booty or of sacrificed animals, or /489/ any kind of references to head-hunting, as well as the kind of animal sacrifice characteristic of the Meau, point to the opposite.

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Kachin APL

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Thus, almost all of the elements represented on the drum are not to be perceived as autochthonous cultural possessions of the Meau. Only the mouth organ could be designated as a Meau element. It, however, is much too widespread among other peoples to appear alone as valid proof.

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Finally, if one considers the fact that the Meau have always been a mountain people that has at most



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Fig. 431. Crown of Feathers from Argus Pheasants.

It is worn by leaders of the Katschin /Kachin/ dancers in a village west of the Kengtung market and is part of a sacral festive costume, which is still preserved only in places.

Pen drawing from a photograph.

occasionally navigated mountain rivers, he will find neither the representation of the many boats on the drum nor the association of boats with the cult explicable. The positively startling similarity between these boats and the sacral temple-boats (Fig. 427) of the Lao, one of the Thai peoples, is another indication that this

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174 cannot have anything to do with the Meau.

532 Furthermore, we come to the question of whether mountain peoples with a relatively lower culture, like the Meau, are to be credited at all with the production of such works of art

[325] as these drums represent. If one considers the perfect casting and above all the ornamentation and plastic representation so well executed technically, this appears most improbable, quite apart from the fact that I could find no indications of any kind among the Meau that the technique of casting by dead form had been familiar to them at any time in their history. I would far rather speak of this work of art as the flowering of a high culture. Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the boats depicted, Von Eickstedt's conjecture, expressed orally to me, that a Thai people may have been involved as the original producer, is not to be rejected. Also the fact that the original homeland of several Thai peoples is to be sought not far from the region in which the Meau drum, according to its previous owners, was originally used at least does not argue against it.

174 To be sure, it is possible that the Meau, who, as their history leads one to suspect, had formerly developed a high culture or at least the beginnings of one, were checked in their development by martial events and oppressions following them, and their culture was subjected to a shrinking process. That a cultural atrophy of considerable proportions actually must have taken place /490/ can be verified by the far more primitive material culture in comparison with the spiritual culture. Even though it has still never been proved that such drums were made by the Meau, it is indeed theoretically possible, their great absolute antiquity being established, that they come from the cultural golden age of the Meau. The frequent statements in the literature to the effect that the Meau did beat bronze drums on various cultic occasions (Heger (1), Nan-chao (2) seem also

1. Pages 235 ff.

2. Pages 187 ff.

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● 174 to argue for the acceptance of a Meau origin, since cultural elements must be domestic for a long time among a people before they find acceptance in the cult. Now I have found, however, that the bronze gongs which today play such an outstanding role in the cult of the Meau (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic") could not be made by them, but are purchased from the Chinese. The same phenomenon is striking among other mountain peoples. For example, I discovered the following among the Kamuk, a forest people from Upper Laos that occasionally also settles in the Thailand border region and unfortunately is still almost unknown scientifically even today: The Kamuk hire themselves out for work among the valley peoples, the Lao and Chinese, and also among the Europeans. Before they return to their homeland, they endeavor to buy bronze drums in Luang Prabang with the acquired money. The origin of these drums is unknown: it is only known that the Kamuk themselves are unable to manufacture them and that it is usually a matter of chance archeological finds which are offered by traders in Luang Prabang. They are also greatly prized as collectors' items by the European colonists, and their market value is therefore high. The Kamuk buyers must often spend their entire savings, and sometimes several join together in order to be able to acquire one of these precious instruments. The drums are said to play a special role in the cult in the Kamuk villages. I was unable to learn any further details on this subject and therefore planned to investigate this question on my next trip to Farther India. Since my plans, because of the outbreak of this war, can probably not be realized within a reasonable space of time, I am publishing this account so that some other ethnologist working in northern Indochina may investigate it. The solution of the problem may very likely yield interesting results in several respects. Nevertheless, it can be stated even today /Ills. 97-101 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /491/ that the appearance of such drums in the cult of the Meau is by no means conclusive evidence that the Meau were at one time in a position to manufacture these

[Text Continues On P. 667]

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● 174 drums themselves. Even today, the origin of the various forms of Southeast Asian bronze drums has still not been satisfactorily settled, although several authors have dealt with it and Heger's multiple-volumed work represents a special investigation of it. It is certain that the art of manufacture is almost lost today and has been preserved longest in the Karen states of Burma. But even there it has not been transmitted by the mountain peoples, but by the high-culture people of the valleys, the Schan /Shan/ of the Thai people (Fisher (1)).

1. Pages 668 ff.

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174 As far as the Akha are concerned, scientific proof for the affiliation of their culture is considerably more difficult than in the case of the Meau, since there is no information in the scanty literature to start from. A further difficulty is that nothing is really known about the history of the Akha and no archaeological finds are available. Nevertheless, the Akha custom of preserving skull parts of hunting booty, as well as the buffalo sacrifice (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo") and the protection of the hornbill (Bucerotidae), the animal closely associated with the head-hunters' cult, for the reason that "the hornbill was a friend of the ancestors," makes it appear questionable whether the culture of the Akha should not be classified with that of the megalithic peasants and head-hunters.

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[825] On the basis of the elements recorded by me and a comparison with the cultural picture of the Meau, I believe that one can answer this question negatively since in almost all essential aspects correspondences with the Meau can be found. On the contrary, an even stronger Europoid racial strain, as well as an accumulation of Tibetan cultural influences, indicates rather that the Akha belong, if not to the same wave of peoples as the Meau, in any case to a very recent migratory wave, which possibly came into contact with head-hunting peoples. Perhaps the peculiar hunting custom was adopted by the Akha as a result of this contact.

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In recapitulation, it can be said: The culture of the Meau and of the /492/ Akha is not unitary; rather, within it there are elements that point to Tibetan as well as Mongolian influences. Especially many Chinese influences appear. The history of the Meau and the anthropology of both peoples, and presumably the languages as well, confirm these facts. The cultures of both peoples not only do not seem to belong to the group that is characterized by megaliths and head-hunting, but, on the contrary, are rather to be classified with the migratory wave that shattered the unity of this megalithic culture in the living spaces of Farther India. Without further ado, it is conceivable that the Meau and Akha, upon contact with these peoples, adopted individual elements, but any scientific proof of this is lacking. -- The Meau drum in the Vienna ethnographic museum was probably not made by the Meau. A Thai people [534] may come into the matter eventually as the producer. This does not by any means contest the fact that this and similar drums were formerly used in the cult of the Meau.

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Chapter 33

Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand

a) General Remarks

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It is apparent from the comprehensively described cultural picture of the most important mountain peoples of Farther India that they, as semi-nomads, are in continual movement and because of that constantly pose new problems for the sedentary peoples of the plains, under whose political control they theoretically stand. This prompts me to discuss more thoroughly the colonial-political problems arising out of this. In doing this, it will be necessary to pick out from among the manifold elements already described those factors that are more closely connected with them.